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ABSTRACT

The extent to which the professional association and the journal of political scientists are representative of members of the discipline was studied. Articles in the "American Political Science Review" (APSR) from 1958 to 1979 and presidential speeches of the American Political Science Association (APSA) were classified according to whether they advocated traditional, behavioral, or post-behavioral approaches or whether they were neutral in content. In addition, 140 political scientists teaching at Midwestern universities and colleges responded to a questionnaire. Results indicate that 5 of the 13 presidential addresses discussed post-behavioralism as the future approach for political science, 3 advocated traditional approaches, 2 focused on behavioralism, 1 was neutral, and 2 were not classified. During the last decade, APSR articles have been 33 percent traditional, 59 percent behavioral, and 6 percent post-behavioral. Further research reveals that 49 percent of all articles appearing between 1960 and 1979 originated at only 20 universities. Responses to the questionnaire suggest that the APSR does not meet the teaching or research needs of the majority of political scientists, most of whom identify their approaches as traditional. Also, most of the political scientists surveyed believe that APSA neither sets trends nor provides leadership. (KC)

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# "Inside the APSA: Politics in the Profession"

by

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Introduction

Over the past number of years the annual APSA meetings have been key noted by incoming presidents as to the state of American political science. To a large extent the messages that have been sounded have been in the form or tenor of three perennial questions. These questions, though not always directly stated, have implied a developmental change in contemporary political science. The questions are: Where have we been?, Where are we now?, and Where are we going?

For political scientists these are critical, as knowing our past helps by providing a sense of history and foundation. Understanding where we are enables contextual awareness and where we are going provides creative direction, wherein collective progress as a discipline may be achieved.

The obvious problem, however, is who can correctly assess the past, feel the pulse of the present or forecast the future. Or more importantly direct inquiry without misdirecting creativity. Most logically if there is a point of focus for these questions it might be the national organization of political scholars--the American Political Science Association. Whether this is the appropriate body for providing answers may well lead to discussion; however, the fact is for the past ten years the leadership has been doing precisely that: providing answers to these questions. The purpose of this essay is multiple in objective. First of all, what have the "elite" of the APSA been saying regarding the state of the discipline? Second, how accurately is that mood reflected in the American Political

Science Review? A corollary might be, is the review a representative mirror of discipline trends or an instrument of editors to create trends not yet established but hoped for by editorial preferences? Third, what is the attitude of the rank and file of the discipline and do their opinions differ with local institutional policy setters (department chairman)? Is there a different attitude expressed by those teaching where graduate programs are offered from those teaching at principally undergraduate institutions?

Fourth, specifically, has a post behavioral revolution occured? If so, what direction has it taken? If not, why not? Finally, what direction is political science taking? What is needed and what forces and trends have to this point pre-established that direction?

The data base for this examination is principally from three sources: the speeches of the past presidents of the APSA, the trend of articles published in the APSR over the past 25 years, and a survey of attitudes of political scientists of the midwest region of the country. The methodology involves a mixture of content analysis and simple computations of a survey instrument sent to political scientists for descriptive purposes.

Methodology

The method of this study is behavioral in emphasis. That is, there has been the attempt to quantify the data in order to make comparisons and draw generalizations. Part of the research involved a content analysis of the articles published in the American Political Science Review from 1958 - 1979. These articles were classified by content as to whether they were traditional, behavioral, post-behavioral or neutral. The criterion for this classification was derived from statements of wide acceptance among prominent political scientists.

A second part of the research was taken from data derived from a questionnaire sent to a sampling of political scientist teaching at Midwest universities and colleges. The questionnaire dealt with various aspects of the discipline, the role of the APSA, and its publication the APSR.

Content Analysis of the APSR

There were two types of content studies of the APSR articles. The first involved the speeches of the incoming presidents of the association at the annual meeting. This was undertaken in order to determine what the leaders felt was the new direction or state of the discipline. This analysis provided a summary of the speeches and noted directional emphasis, i.e. traditional, behavioral, and post-behavioral. These particular results are presented later in the paper.

The second aspect of the analysis was an overall classification of the articles in the APSR since the year 1958. The year 1958 is a critical juncture as it precedes the associational call for increased behavioralism and reflects the study of politics of the 1950 post-war era. The critera used for classification of the articles is common in the literature of the discipline. Table 1 characterizes the nature of a traditional article. Table 2 depicts the behavioral criteria, and Table 3 indicates the post-behavioral criteria.[1]

A measure of inter-code reliability was achieved by having two separate analysts overlap on their work of classification; spot checks at random were undertaken for agreement.

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[1]See James C. Charlesworth, "Identifiable Approaches to the Study of Politics and Government," Contemporary Political Analysis, ed. James C. Charlesworth (New York: The Free Press, 1967) pp. 1-10. Also Alan C. Isaak, Scope and Methods of Political Science, revised edition (Homeward, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1975) pp. 3-43.; David Easton, "The Current Meaning of 'Behavioralism'," Contemporary Political Analysis, ed. James C. Charlesworth (New York: The Free Press, 1967) pp. 11-31.; David Easton, "The New Revolution in Political Science," APSR, Vol. 63.

Table 1

The Traditional Criteria

1. The Rational Study of Politics
   This approach is characterized by the writings of Aristotle in his book Politics. It is typlified by a case method, in which known ingredients are associated with known results. The approach is also known as the analytical approach. Also associated with this approach are the polemicists who believe that argument is an avenue to truth and the presumptive--logical group, beginning with an assumption about man and leading to an assertion of man's institutions. Logic being paramount.

2. The Philosophical Approach--This approach was prominent in the 1850's and is characterized by the writings of Plato and St. Augustine, wherein the ideal state is classified. Two schools closely associated with this approach are the allegorical school and the authoritative--revelational school. The allegorical school is characterized by Plato's Republic "in which he used a sustained metaphor to elucidate the principle of the proper subordination of the elements in the make-up of a man" (Charlesworth p. 2). The authoritative-revelational school is characterized by writers who presume to know the mind of God and to enunciate an immanent natural law i.e. Thomas Aquinas and James I. The philosophical approach is a type of searching for values--"What ought to be" i.e. ethics and normative studies.
   Other schools which might be considered as part of the philosophical approach might be metaphysical school, preoccupied with undefinable words like "state" and "sovereignty"; realists such as Machiavelli and Bodin; and Skeptical exemplified by Hume.

3. The historical approach--This approach was also used predominantly during the mid-1850's. The emphasis here is placed on the chronological sequence of events. Cyclial history is part of this approach and purports to show that history repeats itself. Thus wise men learn and act from experience--Hegel, Toynbee, Polybus. The descriptive method is related here exemplified by scores of introductory texts on American Government.

4. The Legal-Constitutional Approach--This approach became prominent during the early 1900's and has continued to be used by contemporary political scientists. The emphasis here is on democratic theory and constitutional law.

5. The Institutional Approach-Proponents of this approach are particularly interested in political structures and lines of authority. It is closely associated with the descriptive approach. Also associated with this approach is the empiricist-pragmatic method, "used for example, by Montesquieu, de Tocqueville, and Comte, does not stress normativism or values, but relates political institutions to political ecology."

Source: Summarized from James C. Charlesworth, "Identifiable Approaches to the Study of Politics and Government," Contemporary Political Analysis, ed. James C. Charlesworth (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 1-10.

Table 2

Behavioral Characteristics

1. Regularities--There are discoverable uniformities in political behavior. These can be expressed in generalizations or theories with explanatory and predictive value.

2. Verification--The validity of such generalizations must be testable, in principle, by reference to relevant behavior.

3. Techniques--Means for acquiring and interpreting data cannot be taken for granted. They are problematic and need to be examined self-consciously, refined, and validated so that rigorous means can be found for observing, recording, and analyzing behavior.

4. Quantification--Precision in the recording of data and the statement of findings require measurement and quantification, not for their own sake, but only where possible, relevant, and meaningful in the light of other objectives.

5. Values--Ethical evaluation and empirical explanation involve two different kinds of propositions that, for the sake of clarity, should be kept analytically distinct. However, a student of political behavior is not prohibited from asserting propositions of either kind separately or in combination as long as he does not mistake one for the other.

6. Systematization--Research ought to be systematic; that is to say, theory and research are to be seen as closely intertwined parts of a coherent and orderly body of knowledge. Research untutored by theory may prove trivial, and theory unsupportable by data, futile.

7. Pure science--The application of knowledge is as much a part of the scientific enterprise as theoretical understanding. But the understanding and explanation of political behavior logically precede and provide the basis for efforts to utilize political knowledge in the solution of urgent practical problems of society.

8. Integration--Because the social sciences deal with the whole human situation, political research can ignore the findings of other disciplines only at the peril of weakening the validity and undermining the generality of its own results. Recognition of this interrelationship will help to bring political science back to its status of earlier centuries and return it to the main fold of the social sciences.

"This list probably includes all the major tenets of the behavioral credo and represents the major differences between behavioral and traditional modes of research." p. 17 (Easton)

Source: David Easton, "The Current Meaning of 'Behavioralism'" in James C. Charlesworth, Contemporary Political Analysis, New York: Free Press, 1967, pp. 16-17.

Table 3

Post Behavioral Criteria (Credo)

The intellectual components of post-behavioralism:

1. Substance must precede technique.
   If one must be sacrificed--content over technique. "For the aphorism of science that it is better to be wrong than vague, post-behavioralism would substitute a new dictum, that it is better to be vague than non-relevantly precise."

2. "Behavioral science conceals an ideology of empirical conservation."
   To confine oneself exclusively to the description and analysis of facts is to hamper the understanding of these same facts in their broadest context." Behavioralism by design "unwittingly surveys ideology of social conservatism tempered by modest incremental change."

3. "Behavioral research must lose touch with reality. The heart of behavioral inquiry is the brute realities of politics. The task of post-behavioralism is to break the barriers of silence that behavioral language necessarily has created and to help political science reach out to real needs of mankind in a time of crises."

4. "Research about and constructive development of values are inextinguishable parts of the study of politics. Science cannot be and never has been evoluatively neutral despite protestations to the contrary. Hence to understand the limits of our knowledge we need to be aware of the value premises on which it stands and the alternatives for which this knowledge could be used."

5. "Members of a learned discipline bear the responsibilities of all intellectuals. The intellectuals' historical role has been and must be to protect the human values of civilization. This is their unique task and obligation. Without this they become mere technicians, mechanics for tinkering with society. They thereby abandon the special privileges they have come to claim for themselves in academic, such as freedom of inquiry and a quasi-extraterritorial protection from the onslaughts of society."

6. "To know is to bear responsibility for acting and to act is to engage in reshaping society. The intellectual as scientist bears the special obligation to put his knowledge to work. Contemplative science was a product of the nineteenth century when a broader moral agreement was shared. Action science of necessity reflects the contemporary conflict in society over ideals and this must permeate and color the whole research enterprise itself."

7. If the intellectual has the obligation to implement his knowledge, those organizations composed of intellectuals--the professional associations--and the universities themselves, cannot stand apart from the struggles of the day. Politicization of the professions is inescapable as well as desirable.

Source: David Easton, "The New Revolution in Political Science," APSR, Vol. LXIII, December 1969, No. 4, pp. 1051-1061.

Survey Analysis

For the data base, schools were selected from twelve midwestern states. Their institutions of higher education were indexed in the college reference, American Universities and Colleges.[2] Table four is a listing of the states included in the survey and the breakdown of the school universe.

Table 4

Midwestern States and Institutions of Higher Education

| | 4 year | Masters (PS) | PhD(PS) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Illinois | 30 | 7 | 6 | 43 |
| Indiana | 22 | 3 | 2 | 27 |
| Iowa | 15 | 3 | 1 | 19 |
| Kansas | 8 | 4 | 1 | 13 |
| Michigan | 24 | 2 | 3 | 29 |
| Minnesota | 20 | 1 | 1 | 22 |
| Missouri | 22 | 3 | 3 | 28 |
| Nebraska | 6 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| North Dakota | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| Ohio | 28 | 5 | 5 | 38 |
| South Dakota | 7 | 1 | 0 | 8 |
| Wisconsin | 17 | 1 | 2 | 20 |
| Totals | 201 | 32 | 25 | 258 |

Source: American Universities and Colleges (11th ed.), Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1973. Guide to Graduate Study in Political Science 1978, Washington, D.C., American Political Science Association, 1977.

Table 5 illustrates the number of schools in the midwest survey, and the number involved in the sample.

Table 6 depicts the sample and number of questionnaires sent to each school. In addition to sending to members of the departments, questionnaires

[2]American Universities and Colleges (11th ed.), Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1973.

were also sent to 31 percent of the chairmen of the departments. The rationale behind the number of questionnaires per schools was that schools with graduate programs would most likely have people to represent all of the areas of political science, where as schools with undergraduate programs only would have a doubling up of areas and faculty. Therefore, seven questionnaires were sent to graduate program schools wherein only two were sent to undergraduate.

Table 7 shows the actual return and their percentages. Table 8 demonstrates the potential return. In comparing the potential universe with the actual sample return there was a sample of 13 percent.

Table 5

Total Number of Schools in the Midwest Survey
Breakdown of Schools Per Size
259=100% r=22%=56 schools

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PhD | 25 | = | 10% | r=24% | = | 6 schools |
| MA | 32 | = | 12% | r=19% | = | 7 schools |
| BA | 201 | = | 78% | r=21% | = | 43 schools |
| Chairman Only | 259 | = | 100% | r=31% | = | 79 schools |

Table 6

Number of Actual Questionnaires Sent in the Survey

| | r | | Formula Number | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PhD | 6 | x | 7 | = | 42 questionnaires |
| MA | 7 | x | 7 | = | 49 questionnaires |
| BA | 43 | x | 2 | = | 86 questionnaires |
| Chairman Only | 79 | x | 1 | = | 79 questionnaires |
| | | | Total | | 256 questionnaires |
| | | | (177 total non-adim. questionnaires) | | |

Table 7

Number of Actual Questionnaires Returned in the Survey

| | Number of Return | % of r | % of Total | % NA | Number Sent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PhD | 18 | 43% | 7% | 10% | 42 |
| MA | 22 | 45% | 9% | 12% | 49 |
| BA | 61 | 71% | 24% | 35% | 86 |
| Chairman | 39 | 49% | 15% | -- | 79 |
| Total | 140 | | 55% | | 256 |
| Total N.A. | 101 | | 57% | | 177 |

Table 8

Total Universe Potential

Total Number of Schools - 259

| | Schools | | Questionnaires | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PhD | 25 | x | 7 | = | 175 | |
| MA | 32 | x | 7 | = | 224 | |
| BA | 201 | x | 2 | = | 402 | (801) 13% |
| Chairman Only | 259 | x | 1 | = | 259 | |
| | | | | Total | 1060 | 13% return |

Findings

The findings of this research project are addressed under three separate categories: findings of the journal data, findings from the questionnaire,, and findings that have become apparent from combining the two.

Findings of the Journal Data

One of the inital questions of this study has been, "What have the leaders of the American Political Science Association, i.e. past presidents

said about the direction of the discipline?" Table 9 depicts the proposed emphasis of the discipline as taken from the past thirteen presidential addresses of the APSA.

As seen in Table 9, five of the thirteen addresses pointed to post-behavioralism as the future for political science. Eight of the addresses dealt with the nature of the discipline and five did not. In essence, only 62 percent of the incoming presidents chose to use the vehicle of the annual presidential address to send signals to the membership as to the direction of the discipline. The remaining five could be characterized by the statement of a recent president, Leon Epstein, wherein he said,

> "My discussion of our profession's changing views of the British party model is not a way to develop generalizations of the kind that distinguished earlier presidential addresses on the nature and responsibility of political science. I find it difficult to offer general advice now that political scientists identify with increasingly specialized subjects and employ more desparate methods. Hence, I present an intellectual case history from which, at the end, I seek to draw only a few broad inferences about how transient circumstances and ideological concerns influence our political perceptions and how the diminished appeal of a particular model may illustrate a wider skepticism about political systems."[3]

In this statement Professor Epstein excuses himself from making comments about the nature of the discipline, thereby forfeiting the opportunity of sending clear leadership signals to the membership.

Another question of significance to this study is, "What is the profile of the journal over time, with respect to the categorization of behavioral, traditional, and post-behavioral articles?" Can a trend or pattern be observed? Based on the content analysis cited earlier, Table 10 presents the

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[3]Leon D. Epstein, "What happened to the British Party Model?" APSR, Vol. 74, no. 1 (March, 1980), p. 9.

Table 9

APSR Presidential Addresses 1969-1979 Summary Sheet

| Year | President | Trad | Behav | Post Behav | Neu | Did Article address the nature of the discipline? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1969 | Easton | | | X | | yes, sets out criteria for Post-Behavioralism |
| 1970 | Deutsch | | | X | | yes, calls for a synthesis of Pol. Theory in all aspects of Pol And. |
| 1971 | Lane | | | | X | no, describes its phenatypic characteristics rather than research and policy direction |
| 1972 | Eulau | | | X | | yes, need to develop public pol. consultants and skill specialists |
| 1973 | Ward | | | X | | yes, "constipate dialectic" need blending--best of both trad and behav |
| 1974 | Lieserson | | X | | | yes, importance of making the study of politics scientifically |
| 1975 | Ranney | X | | | | no, speaks of the process of building awareness in Amer. citizenry |
| 1976 | Burns | | | | | no, discusses political leadership |
| 1977 | Beer | | | | | no, discusses representative democracy and federalism |
| 1978 | Wahlke | | X | | | yes, behavioral research has remained at the pre-behavioral state |
| 1979 | Epstein | X | | | | no, analysis of British Party Model--with excuses |
| 1980 | Miller | | | X | | yes, impact on sub-fields of political science |
| 1981 | Lindblom | X | | | | yes, challenges conventional view of liberal demo. |
| Total | | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 8 yes 62% yes<br>5 no 38% no |

data depicting the classification of articles by year from 1958 thru present.

Figure 1 illustrates the data in Table 10. As can be seen most dramatically, traditional articles dominated the APSR until 1965; then a radical change occurred. In 1966 there was a plunge from 73 percent to 7.3 percent. Conversely, the behavioral articles prior to 1965 averaged in the high twenties; after 1966 there occurred a jump to the eighties. During the last decade there has been a pattern of 33 percent traditional articles, 59 percent behavioral and 6 percent post-behavioral. Ironically from 1969 to 1973 four of the presidents of APSA called for increased post-behavioral research and emphasis, but the increase in article publication was 2 percent, 1958-1968, to 6 percent, 1969-79,* an increase less than responsive of attentive followers to leadership. This measure raises serious question as to the nature of leadership in the professional association.

The final aspect of this study that involves the journal combines research previously published in P.S. comparing departments of political science reputations vs. productivity.[4] The question is appropriately asked, "Who publishes in the journal?" and "Is there a correlation between APSR journal publication, productivity, and reputation?"

In order to deal with that issue it became apparent that several correlations needed to be examined. The first problem was to see if a correlation existed between APSR journal publication, the reputation study of Somit and Tannenhaus,[5] and the productivity study.[6] Table 11 presents the findings of

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[4]John S. Robey, "Political Science Departments: Reputations versus Productivity," PS, XII, No. 2 (Spring, 1979), pp. 202-209.

[5]The findings were reported in the Robey Article Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

*Data for the years 1980-81 follow the same profile--heavy behavioral emphasis-see breakdown chart addendium 2.

Table 1[illegible]

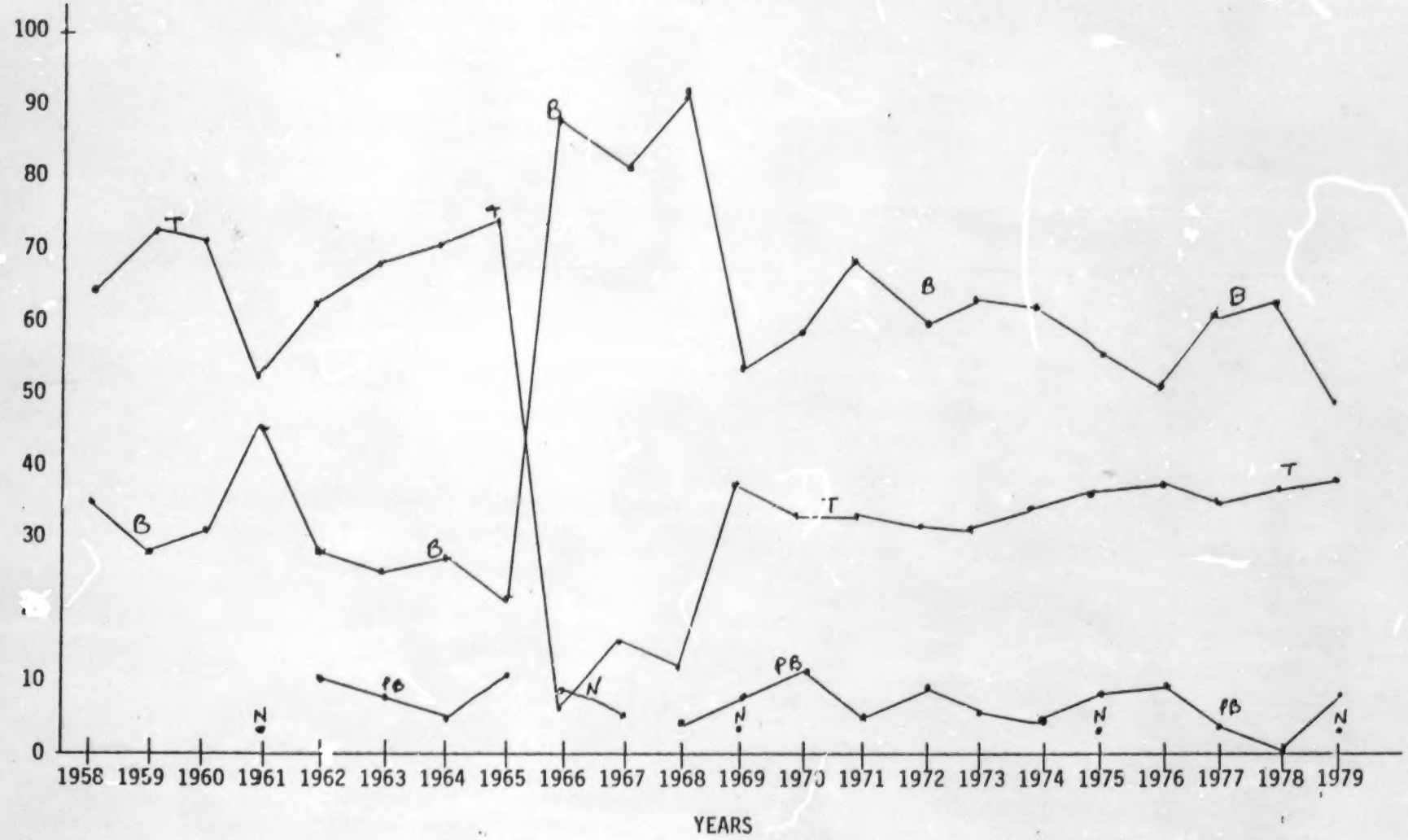
Article Profile

| | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | Sub Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Traditionalist | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | 25 | 21 | 26 | 20 | 26 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 203 |
| Percentage | 64% | 72% | 70% | 51.3% | 62% | 68.6% | 70% | 73% | 7.3% | 15.6% | 11.8% | 48% |
| Behavioralist | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | 14 | 8 | 11 | 18 | 12 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 35 | 36 | 45 | 202 |
| Percentage | 36% | 28% | 30% | 46.2% | 28% | 25% | 27% | 18% | 85.4% | 80% | 88.2% | 48% |
| Post-Behavioralist | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | | | | | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | | | | 10 |
| Percentage | | | | | 10% | 6.25% | 3% | 9% | | | | 2% |
| Neutral | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | | | | 1 | | | | | 3 | 2 | | 6 |
| Percentage | | | | 2.5% | | | | | 7.3% | 4.4% | | 1% |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | 421 |

Table 10 cont.

| | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | Sub Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Traditionalist | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | 20 | 17 | 15 | 13 | 14 | 18 | 16 | 14 | 17 | 18 | 15 | 177 |
| Percentage | 39% | 32.6% | 32.6% | 31% | 31% | 32% | 34% | 39% | 35% | 37% | 39% | 33% |
| Behavioralist | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | 26 | 29 | 29 | 25 | 29 | 36 | 27 | 19 | 30 | 31 | 19 | 300 |
| Percentage | 51% | 55.8% | 63% | 60% | 64% | 64% | 57% | 52.7% | 62.5% | 63% | 50% | 59% |
| Post-Behavioralist | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | 4 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | | 3 | 30 |
| Percentage | 8% | 11.6% | 4.4% | 9% | 5% | 4% | 7% | 8.3% | 2.5% | | 7.8% | 6% |
| Neutral | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frequency | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 3 |
| Percentage | 2% | | | | | | 2% | | | | 2.2% | 1% |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | 537 |

Figure 1: Traditional, Behavioral, and Post-Behavioral Articles published in APSR, 1958-1979




Neutral - N
Traditionalist - T
Behavioralist - B
Post-Behavioralist - PB

Table 11

APSR Publication vs. Reputation vs. Overall/Productivity Rankings

| School | No. *APSR | R | PS REP | R | PS PRO | R | G.R Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Michigan | 51 | 1 | 70 | 6 | 1.0 | 1 | 8 |
| Wisconsin | 46 | 2 | 24.5 | 17.5 | 6.0 | 3.5 | 23 |
| Yale | 38 | 3 | 2.0 | 2 | 16.0 | 10 | 15 |
| Chicago | 36 | 4 | 4.0 | 4 | 33.5 | 15.5 | 23.5 |
| Harvard | 29 | 5.5 | 1.0 | 1 | 13.5 | 8 | 14.5 |
| University of California Berkeley | 29 | 5.5 | 3.0 | 3 | 15.0 | 9 | 17.5 |
| Michigan State | 26 | 7 | 23.0 | 15 | 4.0 | 2 | 24 |
| Stanford | 22 | 8 | 8.5 | 7 | 17.0 | 11 | 26 |
| Princeton | 17 | 9.5 | 5.0 | 5 | 33.5 | 15.5 | 30 |
| Ohio State | 17 | 9.5 | 24 5 | 17.5 | 9.0 | 5 | 32 |
| Indiana | 16 | 11 | 14.5 | 11 | 10.0 | 6 | 28 |
| North Carolina | 13 | 13 | 17.0 | 14 | 22.33 | 13.5 | 40.5 |
| UCLA | 13 | 13 | 10.5 | 8.5 | 22.33 | 13.5 | 35 |
| Cornell | 13 | 13 | 10.5 | 8.5 | 18.5 | 12 | 33.5 |
| John Hopkins | 12 | 15 | 12.0 | 10 | 53.33 | 17 | 42 |
| Illinois | 11 | 17 | 15.0 | 12 | 77.0 | 18 | 47 |
| Iowa | 11 | 17 | 24.0 | 16 | 6.0 | 3.5 | 36.5 |
| Totals | | 171 | | 171 | | 171 | 513 |

*Columbia excluded not on P.S. rating.
Number 13 articles

S = 1912.75
K = 3
N = 18

Formula

$$W = \frac{S}{(1/12)k^2 (N^3-N)}$$

W = .44

*Years of 1960-79 (See addendum 1)

that comparison. A Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance was used in order to account for the multiple rankings. There was a correlation of .44 which was not significant at the .05 level. In other words no significant correlation was found among the three variables. Table 12 illustrates a test for correlation between reputation and productivity using the APSR articles as a base and Spearman's Rho, rs correlation method. Again, after conducting a test for significance no apparent correlation of significance was found at the .05 level or above. Table 13 demonstrates the test for correlation (using Spearman's Rho, rs) to determine a positive correlation between APSR publication and production, but no significant correlation exists at the .05 level. Table 14 presents a dramatic turn around. Here APSR publication and reputation are examined using the Spearman's Rho, rs. After applying the test for significance it was discovered that a correlation of .43 existed which was significant at the .05 level, anything above .399 is significant. In short, the only finding that was significant was the correlation between APSR publication and the apparent reputation of the school wherein the author was employed. This is in deference to the fact that there is no correlation between APSR publication and over all productivity in other major political science publications by department. This startling finding led to the comparison of another factor and that is a comparison between the top twenty APSR publishing schools and the past 23 APSA presidents' school of residence. Table 15 displays this comparison. It is interesting that only two of the past presidents were not from among the top twenty APSR schools and clearly 2/3rds have been drawn from the top eight APSR publishing institutions. Noticeably, on the reputation scale Michigan does not register high but ranks first on APSR publication.

Table 12

P.S. Reputation and P.S. Productivity
Spearman's Rho, rs

Base schools as found in APSR Study

| School | PS REP | R | PS PRO | R | D | $D^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Michigan | 70 | 6 | 1.0 | 1 | 5 | 25 |
| Wisconsin | 24.5 | 17.5 | 6.0 | [illegible].5 | 14 | 196 |
| Yale | 2.0 | 2 | 16.0 | [illegible] | 8 | 64 |
| Chicago | 4.0 | 4 | 33.5 | [illegible].5 | 11.5 | 132.25 |
| Harvard | 1.0 | 1 | 13.5 | [illegible] | 7 | 49 |
| University of California Berkeley | 3.0 | 3 | 15.0 | 9 | 6 | 36 |
| Michigan State | 23.0 | 15 | 4.0 | 2 | 13 | 169 |
| Stanford | 8.5 | 7 | 17.0 | 11 | 4 | 16 |
| Princeton | 5.0 | 5 | 33.5 | 15.5 | 10.5 | 110.25 |
| Ohio State | 24.5 | 17.5 | 9.0 | 5 | 12.5 | 156.25 |
| Indiana | 14.5 | 11 | 10.0 | 6 | 5 | 25 |
| North Carolina | 17.0 | 14 | 22.33 | 13.5 | .5 | .25 |
| UCLA | 10.5 | 8.5 | 22.33 | 13.5 | 5 | 25 |
| Cornell | 10.5 | 8.5 | 18.5 | 12 | 3.5 | 12.25 |
| Johns Hopkins | 12.0 | 10 | 53.33 | 17 | 7 | 49 |
| Illinois | 15.0 | 12 | 77.0 | 18 | 6 | 36 |
| Minnesota | 16.0 | 13 | 11.0 | 7 | 4 | 16 |
| Iowa | 24.0 | 16 | 6.0 | 3.5 | 12.5 | 156.25 |

$$\Sigma D^2 = 1273.5$$

$$r2 = 1 - \frac{6\Sigma D^2}{N(N^2-1)}$$

*Years of 1960-1979 (see addendum 1)

Table 13

APSR Publication vs. Production
Spearman's Rho, rs

| School | No. *APSR | R | PS PRO | R | D | $D^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Michigan | 51 | 1 | 1.0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wisconsin | 46 | 2 | 6.0 | 3.5 | 1.5 | 2.25 |
| Yale | 38 | 3 | 16.0 | 10 | 7 | 49 |
| Chicago | 36 | 4 | 33.5 | 15.5 | 11.5 | 132.25 |
| Harvard | 29 | 5.5 | 13.5 | 8 | 2.5 | 6.25 |
| University of California Berkeley | 29 | 5.5 | 15.0 | 9 | 3.5 | 12.25 |
| Michigan State | 26 | 7 | 4.0 | 2 | 5 | 25 |
| Stanford | 22 | 8 | 17.0 | 11 | 3 | 9 |
| Princeton | 17 | 9.5 | 33.5 | 15.5 | 6 | 36 |
| Ohio State | 17 | 9.5 | 9.0 | 5 | 4.5 | 20.25 |
| Indiana | 16 | 11 | 10.0 | 6 | 5 | 25 |
| North Carolina | 13 | 13 | 22.33 | 13.5 | .5 | .25 |
| UCLA | 13 | 13 | 22.33 | 13.5 | .5 | .25 |
| Cornell | 13 | 13 | 18.5 | 12 | 1 | 1 |
| Johns Hopkins | 12 | 15 | 53.33 | 17 | 2 | 4 |
| Illinois | 11 | 17 | 77.0 | 18 | 1 | 1 |
| Minnesota | 11 | 17 | 11.0 | 7 | 10 | 100 |
| Iowa | 11 | 17 | 6.0 | 3.5 | 13.5 | 182.25 |
| Total | | 171 | | | $\Sigma D^2$ = | 606 |

$$rs = 1 - \frac{6\Sigma D^2}{N(N^2-1)}$$

*Years of 1960-1979 (see addendum 1)

Table 14

APSR Publication vs. P.S. Reputation
Spearman's Rho, rs

| School | No. APSR | R | PS REP | R | *R | D | $D^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Michigan | 51 | 1 | 70 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 25 |
| Wisconsin | 46 | 2 | 24.5 | 17.5 | 9.5 | 15.5 | 240.25 |
| Yale | 38 | 3 | 2.0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Chicago | 36 | 4 | 4.0 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Harvard | 29 | 5.5 | 1.0 | 1 | 1 | 4.5 | 20.25 |
| University of California Berkeley | 29 | 5.5 | 3.0 | 3 | 3 | 2.5 | 6.25 |
| Michigan State | 26 | 7 | 23.0 | 15 | 8 | 8 | 64 |
| Stanford | 22 | 8 | 8.5 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 |
| Princeton | 17 | 9.5 | 5.0 | 5 | 5 | 4.5 | 20.25 |
| Ohio State | 17 | 9.5 | 24.5 | 17.5 | 9.5 | 8 | 64 |
| Indiana | 16 | 11 | 14.5 | 11 | | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 13 | 13 | 17.0 | 14 | | 1 | 1 |
| UCLA | 13 | 13 | 10.5 | 8.5 | | 4.5 | 20.25 |
| Cornell | 13 | 13 | 10.5 | 8.5 | | 4.5 | 20.25 |
| Johns Hopkins | 12 | 15 | 12.0 | 10 | | 5 | 25 |
| Illinois | 11 | 17 | 15.0 | 12 | | 5 | 25 |
| Minnesota | 11 | 17 | 16.0 | 13 | | 4 | 16 |
| Iowa | 11 | 17 | 24.0 | 16 | | 1 | 1 |
| Totals | | 171 | | 171 | | $\Sigma D^2$ = | 550.5 |

$$rs = 1 - \frac{6\Sigma D^2}{N(N^2-1)} \quad \text{Formula}$$

N = 18

*Years of 1960-1979 (see addendum 1)

Table 15

Top 20 Schools in APSR Publication and APSA Presidents Since 1960

| School | No. of *Articles | Presidents | Total No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Michigan | 51 | Ward(73), Miller(80) | 2 |
| Wisconsin | 46 | Ranney(75), Epstein(79) | 2 |
| Yale | 38 | Dahl(67), Lane(71), Lindblom (81) | 3 |
| Chicago | 36 | Pritchett(64), Easton(69) | 2 |
| Harvard | 29 | Friedrich(63), Fainsod(68), Deutsch(70), Beer(77) | 4 |
| University of California Berkeley | 29 | | 0 |
| Stanford | 22 | Almond(66), Eulau(72) | 2 |
| Princeton | 17 | | 0 |
| Ohio State | 17 | | 0 |
| Indiana | 16 | Hyneman(62) | 1 |
| North Carolina | 13 | | 0 |
| UCLA | 13 | | 0 |
| Cornell | 13 | | 0 |
| Columbia | 13 | Truman(65) | 1 |
| Johns Hopkins | 12 | Swisher(60) | 1 |
| Illinois | 11 | | 0 |
| Minnesota | 11 | | 0 |
| Iowa | 11 | Wahlke(78) | 1 |
| Texas | 9 | Redford(61) | 1 |
| Other | | Leiserson(Vanderbilt, 74) Burns (Williams College, 76) | 2 |
| Totals | 407 | | 23 |

*1960-1979 (see addendum 1)

In summary, to the question, "Who publishes in the APSR?" The answer would be a select group of faculty from a select group of schools. Forty-nine percent of all of the articles that appeared in the APSR between 1960 and 1979 originated at twenty universities. There also appears to be a relationship between those 20 schools and the school of employment of past APSA presidents. There appears to be no correlation between APSR publication and productivity in the other major journals, but a definite correlation between APSR publication and the reputation of the institution of the school from which the author is employed.

Regarding the profile of the articles that appear in the journal, the contemporary trend is most definitely behavioralist, but a cross over point seems to have occurred in 1965 when the trend was reversed having favored traditionalism. Post-behavioralism, though endorsed and promoted by the leadership, has not been evidenced to a great extent in the journal.

## Findings from the Questionnaire

### Purpose of the Questionnaire

Every effort was made to limit the length of the questionnaire. Accordingly, only two general inquiries were made. First, an assessment was made of the perceived state and direction of the discipline. These questions focused on the existence of a split between traditionalist and behavioralist approaches to the study of politics. A further inquiry explored the extent of the movement beyond this dichotomous split. That is, has a post-behavioral revolution occurred?

The second basic purpose of the questionnaire was to evaluate the American Political Science Association (APSA). This evaluation rests on the stated purpose of the APSA, which is "to encourage the study of Political Science,

including Political Theory, Political Institutions, Politics, Public Law, Public Administration and International Relations."[7]

Questions asked for an evaluation of leadership of the APSA and of the American Political Science Review (APSR). The basic assumptions are that (1) the president and the governing council of the APSA are representative of and exercise influence over the discipline, and (2) the APSR as the association's journal reflects, encourages, and maintains predominant trends in the discipline.

The survey questionnaire is of very simple design and as such constitutes an exploratory effort. The analysis,therefore, will reflect the limited scope of the questionnaire. Those anticipating greater sophistication in analysis will certainly be disappointed.

Profile of the Respondents

A composite profile of the respondents according to age, area of specialization, highest degree received, number of years to complete work on degree, years of teaching experience, and membership in the APSA is presented in Table 16.

Profile of the Discipline

In addition to the questions about the individual characteristics, questions also asked the respondents to classify their basic approach to teaching and research. Department heads were also asked to characterize their individual departments. (Table 17).

Perceptions of Discipline Direction

Two basic questions were asked in order to assess the direction of the discipline: (1) a question asking for an expression of concern over the

[7]American Political Science Association Constitution

Table 16

Profile of Respondents

1. Average age of respondents

   41

   Distribution of ages is as follows:

   | | |
   |---|---|
   | 20-29 years of age | = 8 |
   | 30-39 " " " | = 54 |
   | 40-49 " " " | = 40 |
   | 50-59 " " " | = 24 |
   | 60-69 " " " | = 8 |

2. Areas of Specialization (the figures presented represent a first choice of each respondent. Many indicated that they had a mixed emphasis.)

   | | |
   |---|---|
   | American Government | 54 |
   | Comparative Politics | 40 |
   | International Relations | 9 |
   | Political Philosophy | 8 |
   | Public Administration | 6 |
   | Theory and Methodology | 1 |
   | Other | 3 |

3. Highest degree received

   | | |
   |---|---|
   | Ph.D | 125 |
   | Masters | 6 |
   | Other | 9 |

4. Average number of years to complete work on degree

   Seven (7)

5. Average number of years of teaching experience

   Fourteen (14)

6. Membership in the American Political Science Association

   | | |
   |---|---|
   | APSA membership | 93 |
   | Not members of APSA | 47 |

Table 17

Profile of Discipline

1. Teaching Approach-Basic Orientations

| | |
|---|---|
| No classification given | 68 |
| Traditionalist | 27 |
| Behavioralist | 21 |
| Post-Behavioralist | 9 |
| Other | 15 |

2. Research Approach-Basic Orientations

| | |
|---|---|
| No classification given | 27 |
| Traditionalist | 55 |
| Behavioralist | 21 |
| Post-Behavioralist | 18 |
| Other | 19 |

3. Characterization of departments by departments heads

| | Total Number of Faculty |
|---|---|
| Traditionalists | 99 |
| Behavioralitst | 84 |
| Post-Behavioralists | 45 |
| Other | 12 |

Table 18

Perception of Discipline

1. Does the split between "traditionalist" and "behavioralists" concern you?

| | |
|---|---|
| Expressed concern | 70 |
| Not really concerned | 56 |
| No response | 14 |

2. Has political science as a discipline moved into the "post-behavioral" era?

| | |
|---|---|
| Post-behavioral era has arrived | 48 |
| Post-behavioral era has not arrived | 27 |
| Do not know | 50 |
| Do not care | 15 |

split between the traditionalist and behavioralist orientations; and (2) a question about movement toward a post-behavioral era. The assumption is that such a split already exists and a dialectical synthesis has begun. To this, as in other responses, those questioned took the liberty to add a few editorial comments in the margins on the questionnaire. Some of these are included to add a more interpretive dimension to otherwise sterile quantitative enumerations (Table 18).

Representative comments include the following observations:

> The (traditionalist-behavioralist) dichotomy to me is irrelevant. I no longer frame the relevance of political science in this manner.

> Regarding the so-called "post-behavioral revolution," I have forgotten that it was underway. Over the years I have noticed that students are uninterested in behavioralism--too academic. Science qua science is not sufficient to answer the "so what?" question.

> The poverty of the behavioralist approach and the inadequacies of the traditionalist approach are to be avoided by a marriage of normative and empirical inquiry. The post-behavioralist has taken a few cautious steps in the right direction.

> Before political science works on post-behavioralism, it would do well to give behavioralism a chance to work. We are too prone to shift to something else if we think some general approach is not productive. My point is that we went to post-behavioralism before behavioralism had had time to made contributions. The discipline can't seem to hang on to itself, intellectually speaking.

Finally, in one instance the respondent indicated yes the split between traditionalism and behavioralism was of concern but then added:

> Behavioralists are quantifying behavior that experience has demonstrated cannot be rationally quantified.

Evaluation of the Leadership of the American Political Science Association

Two principal questions constituted the evaluation of the leadership of the APSA (Table 19). The first asked about the representativeness of the leadership and their relationship collectively to current trends in the discipline. Second, an effort was made to determine general influence of the

leadership as setting trends or being influenced by basic trends within the study of politics.

Table 19

Evaluation of Leadership

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Is the leadership of the APSA representative of current trends in the discipline? | |
| Do not know | 56 |
| APSA leadership is representative | 54 |
| APSA leadership is not representative | 29 |
| Both | 1 |
| 2. Are the leaders of the APSA trend setters or trend followers in political science? | |
| Leadership as trend setters | 26 |
| Leadership as trend followers | 44 |
| Both | 8 |
| No response | 59 |
| Neither | 3 |

Comments accompanying the responses included the following:

The leadership (the president in particular) is usually honored (i.e., made a leader) because of his or her previous trend setting work. In other words, they are leaders because they were trend setters, they are not trend setters because they are leaders.

A good percentage of the board members of the APSA should be drawn from teaching faculties.

The leadership can be considered trend setters until the early 1970's, now they are followers.

I find the APSA conventions increasingly trivial and status quo oriented, as I find the traditionalist-behavioralist split in political science.

Evaluation of the American Political Science Review

Several questions were asked in an effort to evaluate the representativeness, impact, and utility of the APSR (Table 20).

Table 20

Evaluation of APSR

1. Is the APSR representative of principal trends in the discipline?

| | |
|---|---|
| No response | 48 |
| APSR is representative | 37 |
| APSR is not representative | 55 |

2. Is the APSR a trend setter or a trend follower?

| | |
|---|---|
| No response | 60 |
| APSR is a trend setter | 27 |
| APSR is a trend follower | 53 |

3. To what extent do you read the APSR?

| | |
|---|---|
| Thoroughly | 2 |
| Selectively | 121 |
| Not at all | 17 |

4. Are articles from the APSR assigned to students in class?

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | 49 |
| No | 88 |
| No response | 3 |

5. Which articles in the APSR are considered to be the most interesting?

| | |
|---|---|
| Articles with a traditionalist approach | 80 |
| Articles with a behavioralist approach | 21 |
| Both | 39 |

Various comments were offered regarding the APSR. Some of the more pointed statements were:

Efforts should be made to stop according professional recognition, i.e.,

acceptance for publication in the APSR to research distinguished by its esoteric methodology and triviality of substance.

The APSR is "esoteric cultism" totally isolated from the arena of public debate and criticism that is sustained only by periodicals as Nation, Harpers, Dissent, New Republic, etc. Behavioral analysis can, of course be a valuable contribution, but if it is not integrated with area of public policy in a language understandable to the intelligent layman and in a context of basic value issues, then political science has no meaningful role in. . . a democratic society.

The APSR has concentrated too much on trivia based on a misunderstanding of basic and behavioral research.

I read the APSR selectively, usually an occassional article, but mostly book reviews.

Selectively means to me about one article a year, maybe!

It would be useful in my teaching if more of the APSR articles had direct application for classroom (undergraduate) work.

Findings Derived from both Journal Articles and Questionnaires

Two principal questions need to be asked that draw from both the journal analysis and the questionnaire. First, "What is the comparative view of the approaches as demonstrated by the two tests; and second, has a post-behavioral revolution occurred?"

Table 21 presents the comparative data on the approaches drawing from the two analysis. In comparing the two data bases there appears to be little agreement. In all three categories of the questionnaire study traditionalism was the dominant approach followed by behavioralism, and then post-behavioralism, whereas the journal data indicates a clear bias to behavioralism. This might lead one to suspect unresponsiveness on behalf of the journal.

Second, "Has there been a post-behavioral revolution in the discipline?" By comparing the two data bases, the only place a post-behavioral revolution seems to have occurred is in the minds of the presidents of the association

in the early 1970's (see table 9). More typically the comment uttered by one respondent seems best to illustrate this question, "I have forgotten that it was underway."

Table 21

Comparative data on the Profile of approaches to study of Political Science

| Questionnaire (current) | % | Journal Average 1969-1979 | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Teaching Approach | | | |
| No classification | 49% | | |
| Traditionalist | 19% | | |
| Behavioralist | 15% | | |
| Post-Behavioralist | .06% | | |
| Other | 11% | | |
| Research Approach | | | |
| No classification | 19% | Traditionalist | 33% |
| Traditionalist | 39% | Behavioralist | 59% |
| Behavioralist | 15% | Post-Behavioralist | 6% |
| Post-Behavioralist | 13% | Neutral | 1% |
| Other | 14% | | |
| Characterized by Department Heads | | | |
| Traditionalist | (99) 41% | | |
| Behavioralist | (84) 35% | | |
| Post-Behavioralist | (45) 19% | | |
| Other | (12) .05% | | |
| Total | 240 | | |

Summary and Conclusions

Implications for the Association

The implications of these data are basic to the purpose and structure of the APSA. Though circumstantial in some cases, there appears to be enough evidence to suggest that the APSA has shifted away from majority membership interests toward the preservation and perpetuation of minority "elitist"

interests. From the findings the APSR, the major publishing organ for academic concerns does not meet the teaching or research needs of the majority of political scientists. It is read, if at all, selectively and rarely used in teaching.

Most individuals classify themselves as traditionalist, as do their department chairman, yet the predominant research piece in the APSR is behavioral in nature. It appears that the APSR as a research vehicle is open only to a few. Those who do the majority of writing for APSR are concentrated at a select number of schools who enjoy a reputation which is not always based on productivity but on other dimensions including such things as residence of APSA past presidents. Undoubtedly, this has suspicious implications when considering such things as editorial board selection, panel chairmanship (a topic not discussed in this paper but a subject of interest), and APSA sponsored research.

Most political scientists feel the association is not a trend setter but rather a trend follower, while it is extremely dubious to identify whom it is following. Past APSA presidents have identified a post-behavioral revolution which according to the two data bases has not occurred.

If the APSA is not a trend setter nor provides leadership, and the APSR is not an outlet for majority research and usage, then what is its meaning and value? Apparently, it serves as a professional vehicle and measuring rod for an active elite, whose ideas dominate regardless of consumption or representativeness. It perpetuates reputation over productivity at the expense of usability. By establishing this arbitrary standard of a few interests the APSA and APSR are the measure by which recruitment is based. We all need to be considered behavioralists for professional advancement it does not seem to

matter if we are interested or can use the approach in the practical aspects of teaching.

Both of these purposes are important because it keeps the "who's who" limited and it keeps them in place.

The problem, of course, is that it creates a discipline which is out of touch, unresponsive, and unwilling to deal with the dynamics of majority interest; all of which must be reversed if we are to become a progressive interacting professional community.

Implications for Political Science

While not an in depth analysis or evaluation of the functioning of a professional association, the preceding does provide some basis for conclusions and commentary. Utilizing a general concept from political science--that of a political system--several implications can be briefly explored. These implications fall into several categories: typology, recruitment, power and influence, "rules of the game," and system performance.

The typology of the APSA is elitist in an Aristotelian mode of oligarchy, that is, the few ruling in the interest of the few. Any semblance of a broad based representation of the membership is almost totally lacking in the structure of the association. This is especially noticeable in the evaluations of the leadership and the APSR (see Tables 19 & 20). At a minimum, the encouragement of the study of politics in the official publication of the association requires that the articles reflect dominant disciplinary trends. Yet, it does not. What emerges is not a cohesive effort of the study of politics. Nor has any clear effort emerged to establish generally accepted theories or definitions. What has emerged is fragmentation. Can this be a basis for a vital dynamic discipline? Comments by the respondents illustrate part of the problem the profession faces:

> Behavioralists still dominate the discipline, functioning on a 1930's conception of the philosophy of science. Nor have political theorists taken up an analytic approach to politics, leaving this to philosophers. Political theorists still insist on limiting themselves to studies in the history of ideas. The tragedy is that this state of affairs gives no appearance of changing even with developments in philosophy and the public desire for evaluation. . .
>
> We desperately need theory! Every theoretical fad we tried in our effort to become scientific turned out to be just that--a fad. We still don't know what good explanations in political science look like.
>
> Too much emphasis has been on the quantitative behavioral side with a consequent loss in theory and in the valuative importance of what we are doing, why we are doing it, and how we communicate the important things we have to say to the general public, including our students.
>
> The behavioral approach can offer something to the discipline if practioners can remember to include theory in their discussions. Until then it will be the case of the "tail wagging the dog" as we research uninteresting questions (which offer the best quantitative information).

From the preceding study it should also be obvious how leadership is recruited. Prestige, real or assumed, is the basic criterion for the office of association president. The president of the association should be a recognized leader in the discipline. But what of the other members of the leadership, i.e., the Governing Council, Convention Program Committee, and the Editorial Board of the APSR? It might be asked, how does one arrive at these posts? Again, prestige seems to be the primary, if not the only criterion. The data presented herein suggests that this criterion alone is dysfunctional to the association and the discipline.

It would seem that any individual arriving at the apex of associational leadership would have considerable power and exercise considerable influence. There is a considerable gap between even these most basic attributes of leadership and the actualities found in the research and teaching of the general membership.

The "rules of the game" are limited principally to the delineation of administrative functions. According to the Constitution of the APSA the functions of the leadership are as follows:

1. represent the association in its corporate capacity
2. appointment of administrative committees, nominating committee, executive director, managing editor of the APSR, board of editors of APSR, program committee
3. announcements of nominations
4. fill interim vacancies
5. establish other offices, boards and committees as necessary
6. conduct the annual business meeting
7. administer the policies of the association

The current structure is established for the primary purpose of administration. Perhaps this should be the only function of the organizational structure. Yet, if the association is to pursue other goals and policy objectives these should be reflected in the organizational structure. It is a little surprising that the discipline devoted to the study of politics and governments cannot improve on its own governmental structure. While it may be true that the best government is least government--even least government must at least govern.

In addition to the above functions, according to tradition the president also addresses the annual meeting. In being attentive to the activities of the APSA anyone might argue that the leadership does perform its functions as outlined by the constitution. Yet, one primary function in which there has been an absence of active leadership is found in Article 2 of the Constitution of the APSA:

> It will not commit its members on questions of public policy nor take positions not immediately concerned with its direct purpose as stated above. But the Association nonetheless actively encourages in its membership and its journals, research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies, however controversial and subject to partisan discourse in the community at large these may be.

On the basis of the data presented herein there is no evidence that the leadership does not indeed accomplish this. Yet in appraising the leadership

and the APSR those surveyed do at least imply dissatisfaction.

Finally, the level of performance of the association continues to reflect certain inadequacies. The primary stated purpose of the association is the encouragement of the study of politics. In addition, there are certain ascribed purposes. These come about as a function of being an academic professional association. Among these ascribed purposes are improvement or enhancement of the status of the profession and betterment of the quality of the products (theories, graduate programs, teaching, scholarship). These are in addition to the betterment of the material aspects of the profession (tenure, salaries, academic freedom, benefits, etc.).

The instrumentalities by which the APSA attempts to fulfill these functions are more than amply demonstrated by the recent report of the Executive Director of the APSA.[8] These include: the annual meeting, publications, preparation of learning materials, research and publication awards, fellowships, committees, surveys scholarly cooperation, governmental liaison, special projects and membership services.

Again, given the data presented it is necessary to question association performance. It is true that the association does encourage the study of politics, but by whom? And what of the ascribed functions? Perhaps the study of politics has become so esoteric that it discourages intelligent lay scholars from turning to the association for knowledge and information. Instead, the association seems to be losing out to other journals and commentaries that accomplish this essential task. It is surprising how many political scientists serve on the editorial boards of other more useful journals (there must be a message there somewhere). Four respondents addressed the problem of performance

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[8]PS, (Summer, 1980); 300-329.

by stating:

> The discipline must grow out of the phase which highlights technique and de-emphasizes theoretical or policy significance of questions asked. The point is that nobody much cares what political scientists do (with the possible exception of candidates running for election!) because their work does not contribute much either to the solution of problems or to the building of social science theory.
>
> I am concerned about the quality of student we are attracting. We lose out, so often, to career entry programs. Political science should strive to reach outside academe to a wider public in our writings and research. We should be fully concerned about the future of our profession.
>
> I do not advocate eliminating behavioral research, but I believe the discipline priorities should be re-oriented toward real world problems of the future, such as: (1) political choice-making for an era of scarcity, (2) achieving better distributional justice, (3) the meaning of citizenship in a world increasingly dominated by technical experts, (4) the meaning of transcendant values in an increasingly secular culture. These are questions that should occupy the talents of our most creative and insightful scholars, and which should permeate both undergraduate and graduate education.
>
> The discipline should accommodate wider diversity of methods and intellectual concerns. Inquiry into political values and normative issues has seriously deteriorated under the domination of the behavioral fetish for quantification. Professional success has been dependent on methodological orthodoxy, and this has intensified alienation of political science from politics and excluded scholars who value meaning over technique. Greater professional diversity is needed (1) to provide a context for the behavioral research products, (2) to investigate dimensions of political reality untouched by either behavioralism or traditional approaches, (3) to benefit from research and methods in a broader interdisciplinary framework, and (4) to return political science to the same planet inhabited by politicians and citizens.

In sum, the APSA leadership exercises very little influence and provides very little direction. This alone indicates a depreciation of power. Also, the leadership and the APSR are not representative. The principal solution to associational and discipline related problems is the establishment of committees. The adequacy and effectiveness of committees as a means to resolve problems is questionable. Clearly, the leadership administers but does not govern or lead.

The material and data presented constitute strong implications for the discipline of political science. There are several questions that remain unanswered. What is the basic purpose of professional associations if it does not function in the interests of its membership? Is the APSA typical or atypical of academic professional associations? Will the continuation of such an association reduce the vitality essential to the needs of higher education and society in general? If current trends continue, the answers to these and other questions will leave the effectiveness of professional associations in doubt.

Post Script

An effort to have an earlier version of this study published resulted in an interesting exchange with the editors of PS. The initial submission was in December, 1980. It was not until June, 1981 that we learned of the fate of the article (see copies of letters). Even after telephone calls to Catherine Rudder the situation was not clear. She indicated of all the manuscripts submitted for publication only this study remained for her consideration. She did mention, however, that the format of PS would soon be changed and she doubted that this study would be included.

Addendum 1

Number of Articles & Commentaries appearing in APSR by School-1980-81

Wisconsin - 3
Univ. of Ariz. - 1
Bowling Green - 1
Colgate - 1
Bryn Myr - 1
Indiana - 5
Texas Tech. - 1
Nairobi - 1
USC - 1
Michigan - 6
Dartmouth - 1
Harvard - 3
Syracuse - 1
U. of N. Florida - 1
Princeton - 2
Florida State U. - 1
U. of Rochester - 3
Carniege-Mellon - 1
Yale - 2
Johns Hopkins - 2
Northwestern - 1
Univ. of Maryland - 1
Texas A & M - 2
Oklahoma - 1
Hartford - 1
Mich. State - 2
UCLA - 2
UC - 2
William & Mary - 1
U. of Nebraska - 1
Lock Haven - 1
Iowa - 2
Duke - 1
Pittsburgh - 3
U. of Florida - 2
U. of Houston - 2
U. of Kentucky - 2
Rice - 3
SUNY/Albany - 1
LSU - 1
Virginia - 1
Tulane - 1
Other (Non. Acad.) - 2

Wayne State - 1
New Orleans - 1
N. Texas - 1
U. of N. Carolina - 1
Wash. U. - 1
UCR - 1
Calif. Institute of Tech. - 1
U. of W. Ontario - 1
U. of Colorado - 1
Norwegion Technical U. - 1
Virginia Polytechnic - 1
Minnesota - 1
Cornell - 1
SSRC - 1

Total # of Articles and Commentaries - 88

Addendum 2

Breakdown of articles 1980-1981 in APSA by Orientation

Traditional - 21
Behavioral - 52
Post Behavioral - 9
Neutral - 0

Total - 82